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John Carter Brown.

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cf l. 10 on reverse of A 2 (2e l. of Introduction)

By Thomas Paine

COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following intereſting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Deſign of Government in general, with concife Remarks on the Engliſh Conſtitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succeſſion.

III. Thoughts on the preſent State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the preſent Ability of America, with ſome miſcellaneous Reflections.

A NEW EDITION, with ſeveral Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an APPENDIX; together with an Addreſs to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Addition here given increaſes the Work upwards of One-Third.

Man knows no Maſter ſave creating Heaven,
Or thoſe whom Choice and common Good ordain.

THOMSON.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED;

LONDON, RE-PRINTED,

For J. ALMON, oppoſite Burlington-Houſe in Piccadilly. 1776.

JOHN CARTER BROWN.

INTRODUCTION.

PERHAPS the ſentiments contained in the following pages are not yet *ſufficiently faſhionable to procure them general favor; a long habit of not thinking a thing* wrong, *gives it a ſuperficial appearance of being* right, *and raiſes at firſt a formidable outcry in defence of cuſtom. But the tumult ſoon ſubſides. Time makes more converts than reaſon.*

As a long and violent abuſe of power, is generally the means of calling the right of it in queſtion, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had not the ſufferers been aggravated into the enquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own right, *to ſupport the parliament in what he calls* theirs, *and as the good people of this country are grievouſly oppreſſed by the they have an undoubted privilege to enquire into the pretenſions of both, and equally to reject the of either.*

In the following ſheets the author hath ſtudiouſly avoided every thing which is perſonal among ourſelves. Compliments as well as cenſure to individuals make no part thereof. The wiſe, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and thoſe whoſe ſentiments are injudicious, or unfriendly, will ceaſe of themſelves, unleſs too much pains are beſtowed upon their converſion.

The cauſe of America is in a great meaſure the cauſe of all mankind. Many circumſtances hath, and will ariſe, which are not local, but univerſal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are intereſted. The laying a country deſolate with fire and ſword, declaring war againſt

againſt the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating the defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the concern of every man to whom nature hath given the power of feeling; of which claſs, regardleſs of party cenſure, is the AUTHOR.

P. S. The Publication of this new edition hath been delayed, with a view of taking notice (had it been neceſſary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independance: As no anſwer hath yet appeared, it is now preſumed that none will, the time needful for getting ſuch a performance ready for the public being conſiderably paſt.

Who the author of this production is, is wholly unneceſſary to the public, as the object for attention is the Doctrine itſelf, *not the* Man. *Yet it may not be unneceſſary to ſay That he is unconnected with any party, and under no ſort of influence public or private, but the influence of reaſon and principle.*

Philadelphia, February 14, 1776.

COMMON

COMMON SENSE.

Of the origin and deſign of government in general. With conciſe remarks on the Engliſh conſtitution.

SOME writers have ſo confounded ſociety with government, as to leave little or no diſtinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedneſs; the former promotes our happineſs *poſitively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by reſtraining our vices. The one encourages intercourſe, the other creates diſtinctions. The firſt is a patron, the laſt a puniſher.

Society in every ſtate is a bleſſing, but government even in its beſt ſtate is but a neceſſary evil; in its worſt ſtate an intolerable one; for when we ſuffer, or are expoſed to the ſame miſeries *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furniſh the means by which we ſuffer. Government, like dreſs, is the badge of loſt innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradiſe. For were the impulſes of conſcience clear, uniform, and irreſiſtably obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the caſe, he finds it neceſſary to ſurrender up a part of his property to furniſh means for the protection of the reſt; and this he is induced to do by the ſame prudence which in every other caſe, adviſes him out of two evils to chuſe the leaſt. *Wherefore* ſecurity being the true deſign and end of govenment, it unanſwerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears moſt likely to inſure it to us, with the leaſt expence and greateſt benefit, is preferable to all others.

In order to gain a clear and juſt idea of the deſign and end of government, let us ſuppoſe a ſmall number of perſons ſettled in ſome ſequeſtred part of the earth, unconnected with the reſt, they will then repreſent the firſt peopling of any country, or of the world. In this ſtate of natural liberty, ſociety will be their firſt thought. A thouſand motives will excite them thereto, the ſtrength of one man is ſo unequal to his wants, and his mind ſo unfitted for perpetual ſolitude, that he is ſoon obliged to ſeek aſſiſtance and relief of another who in his turn requires the ſame. Four or five united would be able to raiſe a tollerable dwelling in the midſt of a wilderneſs; but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accompliſhing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Diſeaſe, nay even misfortune would be death, for tho' neither might be mortal, yet either would diſable him from living, and reduce him to a ſtate in which he might rather be ſaid to periſh than to die.

Thus, neceſſity like a gravitating power, would ſoon form our newly arrived emigrants into ſociety, the reciprocal bleſſings of which, would ſuperſede, and render the obligations of law and government unneceſſary while they remained perfectly juſt to each other; but as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they ſurmount the firſt difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cauſe, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remiſſneſs will point out the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing ſome form of government to ſupply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State-Houſe, under the branches of which, the whole colony may aſſemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their firſt laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS, and be inforced by no other penalty than public diſeſteem. In this firſt parliament every man, by natural right, will have a ſeat.

But as the colony increaſes, the public cancerns will increaſe likewiſe, and the diſtance at which the members may be ſeperated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them

to

to meet on every occaſion as at firſt, when their number was ſmall, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their conſenting to leave the legiſlative part to be managed by a ſelect number choſen from the whole body, who are ſuppoſed to have the ſame concerns at ſtake which thoſe have who appointed them, and who will act in the ſame manner as the whole body would act, were they preſent. If the colony continue increaſing, it will become neceſſary to augment the number of the repreſentatives, and that the intereſt of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found beſt to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part ſending its proper number; and that the *elected* might never form to themſelves an intereſt ſeperate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the neceſſity of having elections often; becauſe as the *elected* might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the *electors* in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be ſecured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themſelves. And as this frequent interchange will eſtabliſh a common intereſt with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally ſupport each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *ſtrength of government and the happineſs of the governed.*

Here then is the origin and riſe of government; namely, a mode rendered neceſſary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the deſign and end of government, viz. freedom and ſecurity. And however our eyes may be dazzled with ſhow, or our ears deceived by ſound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or intereſt darken our underſtanding; the ſimple voice of nature and of reaſon will ſay, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more ſimple any thing is, the leſs liable it is to be diſordered, and the eaſier repaired when diſordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the ſo much boaſted conſtitutionof England. That it was noble for the dark and ſlaviſh times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with tyranny, the leaſt remove therefrom was a glorious riſque. But that it is imperfect, ſubject to convulſions,

ſions, and incapable of producing what it ſeems to promiſe, is eaſily demonſtrated.

Abſolute governments, (tho' the diſgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are ſimple; if the people ſuffer, they know the head from which their ſuffering ſprings, know likewiſe the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of cauſes and cures. But the conſtitution of England is ſo exceedingly complex, that the nation may ſuffer for years together without being able to diſcover in which part the fault lies; ſome will ſay in one and ſome in another, and every political phyſician will adviſe a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long ſtanding prejudices, yet if we will ſuffer ourſelves to examine the component parts of the Engliſh conſtitution, we ſhall find them to be the baſe remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with ſome new republican materials.

Firſt.—The remains of monarchial tyranny in the perſon of the king.

Secondly.—The remains of ariſtocratical tyranny in the perſons of the peers.

Thirdly.—The new republican materials in the perſons of the commons, on whoſe virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two firſt, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a *conſtitutional ſenſe* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the ſtate.

To ſay that the conſtitution of England is a *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To ſay that the commons is a check upon the king, preſuppoſes two things:

Firſt.—That the king is not to be truſted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirſt for abſolute power is the natural diſeaſe of monarchy.

Secondly.—That the commons, by being appointed for that purpoſe, are either wiſer or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the ſame conſtitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the ſupplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons by em-

empowering

powering him to reject their other bills; it again ſuppoſes that the king is wiſer than thoſe whom it has already ſuppoſed to be wiſer than him. A mere abſurdity!

There is ſomething exceedingly ridiculous in the compoſition of monarchy; it firſt excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in caſes where the higheſt judgment is required. The ſtate of a king ſhuts him from the world, yet the buſineſs of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally oppoſing and deſtroying each other, prove the whole character to be abſurd and uſeleſs.

Some writers have explained the Engliſh conſtitution thus: The king, ſay they, is one, the people another; the peers are an houſe in behalf of the king, the commons in behalf of the people; but this hath all the diſtinctions of an houſe divided againſt itſelf; and though the expreſſions be pleaſantly arranged, yet when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the niceſt conſtruction that words are capable of when applied to the deſcription of ſomething which either cannot exiſt, or is too incomprehenſible to be within the compaſs of deſcription, will be words of ſound only, and tho' they may amuſe the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous queſtion, viz. *How came the king by a power which the people are afraid to truſt, and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wiſe people, neither can any power, *which needs checking*, be from God; yet the proviſion, which the conſtitution makes, ſuppoſes ſuch a power to exiſt.

But the proviſion is unequal to the taſk; the means either cannot or will not accompliſh the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de ſe*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the leſs, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the conſtitution has the moſt weight, for that will govern; and tho' the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phraſe is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet ſo long as they cannot ſtop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the firſt moving power will at laſt have its way, and what it wants in ſpeed, is ſupplied by time.

Thatthe crown is this overbearing part in the Engliſh conconſtitution, needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole

whole conſequence merely from being the giver of places and penſions, is ſelf-evident, wherefore, though we have been wiſe enough to ſhut and lock a door againſt abſolute monarchy, we at the ſame time have been fooliſh enough to put the crown in poſſeſſion of the key.

The prejudice of Engliſhmen in favour of their own government by kings, lords and commons, ariſes as much or more from national pride than reaſon. Individuals are undoubtedly ſafer in England than in ſome other countries, but the *will* of the king is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that inſtead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the more formidable ſhape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the Firſt hath only made kings more ſubtle—not more juſt.

Wherefore, laying aſide all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the conſtitution of the people, and not to the conſtitution of the government*, that the crown is not as oppreſſive in England as in Turky.

An inquiry into the *conſtitutional errors* in the Engliſh form of government is at this time highly neceſſary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing juſtice to others, while we continue under the influence of ſome leading partiality, ſo neither are we capable of doing it to ourſelves while we remain fettered by any obſtinate prejudice. And as a man, who is attached to a proſtitute, is unfitted to chooſe or judge a wife, ſo any prepoſſeſſion in favour of a rotten conſtitution of government will diſable us from diſcerning a good one.

Of monarchy and hereditary ſucceſſion.

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be deſtroyed by ſome ſubſequent circumſtances; the diſtinctions of rich, and poor, may in a great meaſure be accounted for, and that without having recourſe to the harſh, ill-ſounding names of oppreſſion and avarice. Oppreſſion is often the *conſequence*, but ſeldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preſerve

preſerve a man from being neceſſitouſly poor, it generally makes him too timorous to be wealthy.

But there is another and greater diſtinction, for which no truly natural or religious reaſon can be aſſigned, and that is, the diſtinction of men into KINGS and SUBJECTS. Male and female are the diſtinctions of nature, good and bad the diſtinction of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world ſo exalted above the reſt, and diſtinguiſhed like ſome new ſpecies, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happineſs or of miſery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the ſcripture chronology, there were no kings; the conſequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throw mankind into confuſion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this laſt century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the ſame remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the firſt patriarchs hath a happy ſomething in them, which vaniſhes away when we come to the hiſtory of Jewiſh royalty.

Government by kings was firſt introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Iſrael copied the cuſtom. It was the moſt proſperous invention the Devil ever ſet on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceaſed kings, and the Chriſtian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the ſame to their living ones. How impious is the title of ſacred majeſty applied to a worm, who in the midſt of his ſplendour is crumbling into duſt.

As the exalting one man ſo greatly above the reſt cannot be juſtified on the equal rights of nature, ſo neither can it be defended on the authority of ſcripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expreſsly diſapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of ſcripture have been very ſmoothly gloſſed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. "*Render unto Cæſar the things which are Cæſar's*" is the ſcripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no ſupport of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the Romans.

Near three thouſand years paſſed away from the Moſaic account of the creation, till the Jews under a national deluſion requeſted

requeſted a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary caſes, where the Almighty interpoſed) was a kind of republic adminiſtered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held ſinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hoſts. And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the perſons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, ever jealous of his honor ſhould diſapprove of a form of government which ſo impiouſly invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in ſcripture as one of the ſins of the Jews, for which a curſe in reſerve is denounced againſt them. The hiſtory of that tranſaction is worth attending to.

The children of Iſrael being oppreſſed by the Midianites, Gideon marched againſt them with a ſmall army and victory, thro' the divine interpoſition, decided in his favour. The Jews, elate with ſucceſs, and attributing it to the generalſhip of Gideon, propoſed making him a king, ſaying *Rule thou over us, thou and thy ſon and thy ſon's ſon.* Here was temptation in its fulleſt extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one, but Gideon in the piety of his ſoul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither ſhall my ſon rule over you,* THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU. Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honor, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the poſitive ſtile of a prophet charges them with diſaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the ſame error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous cuſtoms of the Heathens, is ſomething exceedingly unaccountable; but ſo it was, that laying hold of the miſconduct of Samuel's two ſons, who were entruſted with ſome ſecular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, ſaying, *Behold thou art old, and thy ſons walk not in thy ways, now make us a king to judge us, like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but obſerve that their motives were bad, viz. that they might be *like* unto other nations, i. e. the Heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much *unlike* them as poſſible. *But the thing diſpleaſed Samuel when they ſaid, Give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord ſaid unto Samuel,*

Hearken

Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they ſay unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. *According to all the works which they have done ſince the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forſaken me and ſerved other Gods; ſo do they alſo unto thee. Now therefore bearken unto their voice, howbeit, proteſt ſolemnly unto them, and ſhew them the manner of the king that ſhall reign over them,* *i. e.* not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Iſrael was ſo eagerly copying after. And notwithſtanding the great diſtance of time and difference of manners, the character is ſtill in faſhion. *And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that aſked of him a king. And he ſaid, This ſhall be the manner of the king that ſhall reign over you; he will take your ſons and appoint them for himſelf, for his chariots, and to be his horſemen, and ſome ſhall run before his chariots,* (this deſcription agrees with the preſent mode of impreſſing men) *and he will appoint him captain over thouſands and captains over fifties, and will ſet them to ear his ground, and to reap his harveſt, and to make his inſtruments of war, and inſtruments of his chariots; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be boakers,* (this deſcribes the expence and luxury as well as the oppreſſion of kings) *and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the beſt of them, and give them to his ſervants; and he will take the tenth of your ſeed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his ſervants,* (by which we ſee that bribery, corruption, and favouritiſm are the ſtanding vices of kings) *and he will take the tenth of your men ſervants, and your maid ſervants, and your goodlieſt young men, and your aſſes, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your ſheep, and ye ſhall be his ſervants, and ye ſhall cry out in that day becauſe of your king which ye ſhall have choſen,* AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY." This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived ſince, either ſanctify the title, or blot out the ſinfulneſs of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him *officially as a king*, but only as a *man* after God's own heart. *Neverthelefs the people refuſed to obey the voice of Samuel, and they ſaid, Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may*

be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles. Samuel continued to reaſon with them, but to no purpoſe; he ſet before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and ſeeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord, and he ſhall ſend thunder and rain,* (which then was a puniſhment, being in the time of wheat harveſt) *that ye may perceive and ſee that your wickedneſs is great which ye have done in the ſight of the Lord,* IN ASKING YOU A KING. *So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord ſent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and ſamuel. And all the people ſaid unto Samuel, pray for thy Servants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for* WE HAVE ADDED UNTO OUR SINS THIS EVIL, TO ASK A KING. Theſe portions of ſcripture are direct and poſitive. They admit of no equivocal conſtruction. That the Almighty hath here entered his proteſt againſt monarchial government, is true, or the ſcripture is falſe. And a man hath good reaſon to believe that there is as much of king-craft, as prieſt-craft, in withholding the ſcripture from the public in Popiſh countries. For monarchy in every inſtance is the Popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary ſucceſſion; and as the firſt is a degradation and leſſening of ourſelves, ſo the ſecond, claimed as a matter of right, is an inſult and an impoſition on poſterity. For all men being originally equals, no *one* by *birth* could have a right to ſet up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himſelf might deſerve *ſome* decent degree of honours of his cotemporaries, yet his deſcendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the ſtrongeſt *natural* proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature diſapproves it, otherwiſe ſhe would not ſo frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *Aſs for a Lion.*

Secondly, as no man at firſt could poſſeſs any other public honors than were beſtowed upon him, ſo the givers of thoſe honors could have no right to give away the right of poſterity. And though they might ſay, "We chooſe you for *our* head," they could not, without manifeſt injuſtice to their children, ſay, "that your children, and your children's children ſhall reign over *ours* for ever. Becauſe ſuch an unwiſe

wiſe, unjuſt, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next ſucceſſion put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Moſt wiſe men, in their private ſentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of thoſe evils which, when once eſtabliſhed, is not eaſily removed; many ſubmit from fear, others from ſuperſtition, and the more powerful part ſhares with the king the plunder of the reſt.

This is ſuppoſing the preſent race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their firſt riſe, that we ſhould find the firſt of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of ſome reſtleſs gang, whoſe ſavage manners, or pre-eminence in ſubtility obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increaſing in power, and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceleſs to purchaſe their ſafety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his deſcendants, becauſe ſuch a perpetual excluſion of themſelves was incompatible with the free and unreſtrained principles they profeſſed to live by. Wherefore hereditary ſucceſſion in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as ſomething caſual or complimental; but as try or no records were extant in thoſe days, and tradition on hiſtory ſtuffed with fables, it was very eaſy, after the lapſewf a few generations, to trump up ſome ſuperſtitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary righe down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the diſorders which threatened, or ſeemed to threaten, on the deceaſe of a leaderf and the choice of a new one, (for elections among ruffian, could not be very orderly) induced many at firſt to favor hereditary pretenſions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened ſince, that what at firſt was ſubmitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, ſince the conqueſt, hath known ſome few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his ſenſes can ſay that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French baſtard landing with an armed banditti, and eſtabliſhing himſelf king of England againſt the conſent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry raſcally original. It certainly hath

hath no divinity in it. However, it is needleſs to ſpend much time in expoſing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any ſo weak as to believe it, let them promiſcuouſly worſhip the aſs and the lion, and welcome. I ſhall neither copy their humility, nor diſturb their devotion.

Yet I ſhould be glad to aſk how they ſuppoſe kings came at firſt? The queſtion admits but of three anſwers, viz. either by lot, by election, or by uſurpation. If the firſt king was taken by lot, it eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary ſucceſſion. Saul was by lot, yet the ſucceſſion was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that tranſaction there was any intention it ever ſhould. If the firſt king of any country was by election, that likewiſe eſtabliſhes a precedent for the next; for to ſay that the *right* of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the firſt electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of Scripture but the doctrine of original ſin, which ſuppoſes the free will of all men loſt in Adam; and from ſuch compariſon, and it will admit of no other, hereditary ſucceſſion can derive no glory. For as in Adam all ſinned, and as in the firſt electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were ſubjected to Satan, and in the other to ſovereignty; as our innocence was loſt in the firſt, and our authority in the laſt; and as both diſable us from re-aſſuming ſome former ſtate and privilege, it unanſwerably follows, that original ſin and hereditary ſucceſſion are parallels. Diſhonourable rank! Inglorious connexion! Yet the moſt ſubtile ſophiſt cannot produce a juſter ſimile.

As to uſurpation, no man will be ſo hardy as to defend it; and that William the conqueror was an uſurper, is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of Engliſh monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not ſo much the abſurdity as the evil of hereditary ſucceſſion which concerns mankind. Did it enſure a race of good and wiſe men, it would have the ſeal of divine authority, bût as it opens a door to the *fooliſh*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppreſſion. Men who look upon themſelves born to reign, and others to obey, ſoon grow inſolent; ſelected from the reſt of mankind their minds are early poiſoned by importance; and the world they

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act in differs ſo materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true intereſts, and when they ſucceed to the government, are frequently the moſt ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary ſucceſſion is, that the throne is ſubject to be poſſeſſed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their truſt. The ſame national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the laſt ſtage of human weakneſs. In both theſe caſes, the public becomes a a prey to every miſcreant, who can tamper ſucceſsfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The moſt plauſible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary ſucceſſion, is, that it preſerves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the moſt barefaced falſity ever impoſed upon mankind. The whole hiſtory of England diſowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that diſtracted kingdom ſince the conqueſt, in which time there have been (including the revolution) no leſs than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore inſtead of making for peace, it makes againſt it, and deſtroys the very foundation it ſeems to ſtand on.

The conteſt for monarchy and ſucceſſion, between the houſes of York and Lancaſter, laid England in a ſcene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, beſides ſkirmiſhes and ſieges were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry priſoner to Edward, who in his turn was priſoner to Henry. And ſo uncertain is the fate of war, and the temper of a nation, when nothing but perſonal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a priſon to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as ſudden tranſitions of temper are ſeldom laſting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to ſucceed him. The parliament always following the ſtrongeſt ſide.

This conteſt began in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and was not entirely extinguiſhed 'till Henry the Seventh, in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

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In ſhort, monarchy and ſucceſſion have laid (not this or that kingdom only) but the world in blood and aſhes. 'Tis a form of government which the word of God bears teſtimony againſt, and blood will attend it.

If we enquire into the buſineſs of a king, we ſhall find that in ſome countries they have none; and after ſauntering away their lives without pleaſure to themſelves or advantage to the nation, withdraw from the ſcene, and leave their ſucceſſors to tread the ſame idle ground. In abſolute monarchies the whole weight of buſineſs, civil and military, lies on the king; the children of Iſrael in their requeſt for a king, urged this plea, "that he may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles." But in countries where he is neither a judge nor a general, , a man would be puzzled to know what *is* his buſineſs.

The nearer any government approaches to a republic the leſs buſineſs there is for a king. It is ſomewhat difficult to find a proper name for the government of England. Sir William Meredith calls it a republic; but in its preſent ſtate it is unworthy of the name, becauſe the corrupt influence of the crown, by having all the places in its diſpoſal, hath ſo effectually ſwallowed up the power, and eaten out the virtue of the houſe of commons (the republican part in the conſtitution) that the government of England is nearly as monarchical as that of France or Spain. Men fall out with names without underſtanding them. For it is the republican and not the monarchical part of the conſtitution of England which Engliſhmen glory in, viz. the liberty of chooſing an houſe of commons from out of their own body—and it is eaſy to ſee that when republican virtue fails, ſlavery enſues. Why is the conſtitution of England ſickly, but becauſe monarchy hath poiſoned the republic, the crown hath engroſſed the commons?

In hath little more to do than to make war and give away places; which in plain terms, is to impoveriſh the nation, and ſet it together by the ears. A pretty buſineſs indeed for a man to be allowed eight hundred thouſand ſterling a year for, and worſhipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honeſt man to ſociety, and in the ſight of God, than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived.

Thoughts

Thoughts on the preſent ſtate of American affairs.

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than ſimple facts, plain arguments, and common ſenſe; and have no other preliminaries to ſettle with the reader, than that he will diveſt himſelf of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, and ſuffer his reaſon and his feelings to determine for themſelves; that he will put *on*, or rather that he will not put *off* the true character of a man, and generouſly enlarge his views beyond the preſent day.

Volumes have been written on the ſubject of the ſtruggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controverſy, from different motives. and with various deſigns: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is cloſed. Arms, as the laſt reſource, decide theconteſt; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able miniſter was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the houſe of commons, on the ſcore, that his meaſures were only of a temporary kind, replied "*they will laſt my time.*" Should a thought ſo fatal and unmanly poſſeſs the colonies in the preſent conteſt, the name of anceſtors will be remembered by future generations with deteſtation.

The ſun never ſhined on a cauſe of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at leaſt one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; poſterity are virtually involved in the conteſt, and will be more or leſs affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the ſeed-time of continental union, faith and honor. The leaſt fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and poſterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politicks is ſtruck; a new method of thinking hath ariſen. All plans, propoſals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i. e.* to the commencement of hoſtilities, are like the almanacks of the laſt year; which though proper then are

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ſuperſeded and uſeleſs now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either ſide of the queſtion then, terminated in one and the ſame point, viz. a union with Great-Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one propoſing force, the other friendſhip; but it hath ſo far happened that the firſt hath failed, and the ſecond hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been ſaid of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath paſſed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we ſhould examine the contrary ſide of the argument, and enquire into ſome of the many material injuries which theſe colonies ſuſtain, and always will ſuſtain, by being connected with, and dependant on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependance, on the principles of nature and common ſenſe, to ſee what we have to truſt to, if ſeparated, and what we are to expect, if dependant,

I have heard it aſſerted by ſome, that as America hath flouriſhed under her former connection with Great-Britain, that the ſame connection is neceſſary towards her future happineſs, and will always have the ſame effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well aſſert that becauſe a child has thrived upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the firſt twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty But even this is admitting more than is true, for I anſwer roundly, that America would have flouriſhed as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which ſhe hath inriched herſelf, are the neceſſaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the cuſtom of Europe.

But ſhe has protected us, ſay ſome. That ſhe has engroſſed us is true, and defended the continent at our expence as well as her own, is admitted, and ſhe would have defended Turkey from the ſame motive, viz. the ſake of trade and dominion.

Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large ſacrifices to ſuperſtition. We have boaſted the protection of Great Britain, without conſidering that her motive was *intereſt* not *attachment*; that ſhe did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from thoſe who had no quarrel with us on

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any *other account*, and who will always be our enemies on the *ſame account*. Let Britain wave her pretenſions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we ſhould be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miſeries of Hanover laſt war ought to warn us againſt connexions.

It has lately been aſſerted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i. e. that Pennſylvania and the Jerſeys, and ſo on for the reſt, are ſiſter colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationſhip, but it is the neareſt aud only true way of proving enemyſhip if I may ſo call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *ſubjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country, ſay ſome. Then the more ſhame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor ſavages make war upon their families; wherefore the aſſertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly ſo, and the phraſe *parent* or *mother country* hath been jeſuitically adopted by the and his parаſites. with a low papiſtical deſign of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakneſs of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the aſylum for the perſecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monſter; and it is ſo far true of England, that the ſame tyranny which drove the firſt emigrants from home, purſues their deſcendants ſtill.

In this extenſive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and ſixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendſhip on a larger ſcale; we claim brotherhood with every European Chriſtian, and triumph in the generoſity of the ſentiment.

It is pleaſant to obſerve by what regular gradations we ſurmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into pariſhes, will naturally aſſociate moſt with his fellow-pariſhioners (becauſe their intereſts in many caſes will be common) and diſtinguiſh him by the name of *neighbour*; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a ſtreet, and ſalutes him by the

name of *townſman*; if he travel out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor diviſions of ſtreet and town, and calls him *countryman*, i. e. *countyman*; but if in their foreign excurſions they ſhould aſſociate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Engliſhmen*. And by a juſt parity of reaſoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are *countrymen*; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, ſtand in the ſame places on the larger ſcale, which the diviſions of ſtreet, town, and county do on the ſmaller ones; diſtinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of Engliſh deſcent. Wherefore I reprobate the phraſe of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being falſe, ſelfiſh, narrow, and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of Engliſh deſcent, what does it amount to? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguiſhes every other name and title: And to ſay that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The firſt king of England, of the preſent line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are deſcendants from the ſame country; wherefore, by the ſame method of reaſoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been ſaid of the united ſtrength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere preſumption; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expreſſions mean any thing; for this continent would never ſuffer itſelf to be drained of inhabitants, to ſupport the Britiſh arms in either Aſia, Africa, or Europe.

Beſides what have we to do with ſetting the world at defiance? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will ſecure us the peace and friendſhip of all Europe; becauſe, it is the intereſt of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Here trade will always be a protection, and her barrenneſs of gold and ſilver ſecure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmeſt advocate for reconciliation, to ſhew, a ſingle advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great-Britain. I repeat the challenge,

challenge, not a ſingle advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods muſt be paid for buy them where we will.

But the injuries and diſadvantages we ſuſtain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourſelves, inſtruct us to renounce the alliance: Becauſe, any ſubmiſſion to, or dependance on Great-Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and ſet us at variance with nations, who would otherwiſe ſeek our friendſhip, and againſt whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true intereſt of America to ſteer clear of European contentions, which ſhe never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, ſhe is made the make-weight in the ſcale of Britiſh politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and whenever a war breaks out between England and any foreign power, the trade of America goes to ruin, *becauſe of her connection with Britain.* The next war may not turn out like the laſt, and ſhould it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wiſhing for ſeparation then, becauſe, neutrality in the caſe, would be a ſafer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for ſeparation. The blood of the ſlain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the diſtance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a ſtrong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the deſign of Heaven. The time likewiſe at which the continent was diſcovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled encreaſes the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the diſcovery of America, as if the Almighty graciouſly meant to open a ſanctuary to the perſecuted in future years, when home ſhould afford neither friendſhip nor ſafety.

The authority of Great-Britain over this continent, is a form of government, which ſooner or later muſt have an end: and a ſerious mind can draw no true pleaſure by looking forward, under the painful and poſitive conviction, that what he calls "the preſent conſtitution" is merely temporary.

rary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not ſufficiently laſting to enſure any thing which we may bequeath to poſterity: And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwiſe we uſe them meanly and pitifully. In order to diſcover the line of our duty rightly, we ſhould take our children in our hand, and fix our ſtation a few years farther into life; that eminence will preſent a proſpect, which a few preſent fears and prejudices conceal from our ſight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unneceſſary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all thoſe who eſpouſe the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following deſcriptions. Intereſted men, who are not to be truſted; weak men, who *cannot* ſee; prejudiced men, who *will not* ſee; and a certain ſet of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deſerves; and this laſt claſs, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cauſe of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live diſtant from the ſcene of ſorrow; the evil is not ſufficient brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precarioufneſs with which all American property is poſſeſſed. But let our imaginations tranſport us for a few moments to Boſton, that ſeat of wretchedneſs will teach us wiſdom, and inſtruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no truſt, the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in eaſe and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to ſtay and ſtarve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the ſoldiery if they leave it. In their preſent condition they are priſoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be expoſed to the fury of both armies.

Men of paſſive tempers look ſomewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and ſtill hoping for the beſt, are apt to call out, "*Come, come, we ſhall be friends again, for all this.*" But examine the paſſions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchſtone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully

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ſerve the power that hath carried fire and ſword into your land? If you cannot do all theſe, then are you only deceiving yourſelves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon poſterity. Your future connexion with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of preſent convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapſe more wretched than the firſt. But if you ſay, you can ſtill paſs the violations over, then I aſk, Hath your houſe been burnt? Hath your property been deſtroyed before your face? Are your wife and children deſtitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you loſt a parent or a child, by their hands, and yourſelf the ruined and wretched ſurvivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of thoſe who have. But if you have, and ſtill can ſhake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of huſband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the ſpirit of a ſycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, by trying them by thoſe feelings and affections which nature juſtifies, and without which, we ſhould be incapable of diſcharging the ſocial duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpoſe of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly ſlumbers, that we may purſue determinately ſome fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if ſhe do not conquer herſelf be *delay* and *timidity*. The preſent winter is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no puniſhment which that man will not deſerve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of ſacrificing a ſeaſon ſo precious and uſeful.

It is repugnant to reaſon, to the univerſal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to ſuppoſe, that this continent can longer remain ſubject to any external power. The moſt ſanguine in Britain does not think ſo. The utmoſt ſtretch of human wiſdom cannot, at this time, compaſs a plan ſhort of ſeparation, which can promiſe the continent even a year's ſecurity. Reconcilation

is

is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deſerted the connexion, and art cannot ſupply her place. For, as Milton wiſely expreſſes, "Never can true reconcilement grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd ſo deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with diſdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obſtinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more than that very meaſure to make the Kings of Europe abſolute: Witneſs Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, ſince nothing but blows will do, for God's ſake, let us come to a final ſeparation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To ſay, they will never attempt it again is idle and viſionary, we thought ſo at the repeal of the ſtamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we ſuppoſe that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent juſtice: The buſineſs of it will ſoon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power ſo diſtant from us, and ſo very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thouſand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an anſwer, which when obtained requires five or ſix more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childiſhneſs—There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to ceaſe.

Small iſlands, not capable of protecting themſelves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is ſomething very abſurd in ſuppoſing a continent to be perpetually governed by an iſland. In no inſtance hath nature made the ſatellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with reſpect to each other, reverſes the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different ſyſtems; England to Europe, America to itſelf.

I am

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or reſentment to eſpouſe the doctrine of ſeparation and independance; I am clearly, poſitively, and conſcientiouſly perſuaded, that it is the true intereſt of this continent to be ſo; that every thing ſhort of *that* is mere patchwork, that it can afford no laſting felicity,----that it is leaving the ſword to our children, and ſhrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifeſted the leaſt inclination towards a compromiſe, we may be aſſured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treaſure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear ſome juſt proportion to the expence. The removal of N——, or the whole deteſtable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary ſtoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have ſufficiently ballanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had ſuch repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent muſt take up arms, if every man muſt be a ſoldier, it is ſcarcely worth our while to fight againſt a contemptible miniſtry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a juſt eſtimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always conſidered the independency of this continent as an event which ſooner or later muſt arrive, ſo from the late rapid progreſs of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hoſtilities, it was not worth while to have diſputed a matter which time would have finally redreſſed, unleſs we meant to be in earneſt; otherwiſe it is like waſting an eſtate on a ſuit at law, to regulate the treſpaſſes of a tenant, whoſe leaſe is juſt expiring. No man was a warmer wiſher for reconciliation than myſelf before the fatal nineteenth* of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known,

* *Lexington.*

of

But admitting that matters were now made up, what would be the event? I anſwer, the ruin of the continent.---And that for ſeveral reaſons.

Firſt, The powers of governing ſtill remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legiſlation of this continent. And

is he, or is he not, a proper man to ſay to theſe colonies, "*You ſhall make no laws but what I pleaſe?*" And is there any inhabitant in America ſo ignorant, as not to know, that according to what is called the *preſent conſtitution*, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to? and is there any man ſo unwiſe as not to ſee, that (conſidering what has happened) he will ſuffer no law to be made here, but ſuch as ſuits *his* purpoſe? We may be as effectually enſlaved by the want of laws in America, as by ſubmitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this continent as low and as humble as poſſible? Inſtead of going forward, we ſhall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculouſly petitioning.—

To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our proſperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever ſays *No* to this queſtion, is an *independant*; for independency means no more, than whether we ſhall make our own laws, or

But the king, you will ſay, has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his conſent. In point of right and good order, there is ſomething very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) ſhall ſay to ſeveral millions of people, older and wiſer than himſelf, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this ſort of reply, though I will never ceaſe to expoſe the abſurdity of it, and only anſwer,

ſwer, that England being the king's reſidence, and America not ſo, makes quite another caſe. The king's negative *here* is ten times more dangerous than it can be in England, for *there* he will ſcarcely refuſe his conſent to a bill for putting England into as ſtrong a ſtate of defence as poſſible, and in America he would never ſuffer ſuch a bill to be paſſed.

America is only a ſecondary object in the ſyſtem of Britiſh politics, England conſults the good of this country, no farther than it anſwers her own purpoſe. Wherefore her own intereſt leads her to ſuppreſs the growth of *ours* in every caſe which doth not promote her advantage, or in the leaſt interfere with it. A pretty ſtate we ſhould ſoon be in under ſuch a ſecond-hand government, conſidering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: and in order to ſhew that reconciliation *now* is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, *that it would be policy at this time to repeal the acts for the ſake of re-inſtating the government of the provinces*; in order,

Secondly, That as even the beſt terms which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianſhip, which can laſt no longer than 'till the colonies come of age, ſo the general face and ſtate of things in the interim, will be unſettled and unpromiſing. Emigrants of property will not chooſe to come to a country whoſe form of government hangs but by a thread, and who is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and diſturbance; and numbers of the preſent inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to diſpoſe of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the moſt powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independance, i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preſerve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt ſomewhere or other, the conſequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

Thouſands are already ruined by Britiſh barbarity; (thouſands more will probably ſuffer the ſame fate). Thoſe men have other feelings than us who have nothing ſuffered. All they *now* poſſeſs is liberty, what they before enjoyed is ſacrificed to its ſervice, and having nothing more to loſe, they diſdain ſubmiſſion. Beſides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a Britiſh government, will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preſerve the peace, is no government at all, and in that caſe we pay our money for nothing; and pray what is it that Britain can do, whoſe power will be wholly on paper, ſhould a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard ſome men ſay, many of whom I believe ſpoke without thinking, that they dreaded an independance, fearing it would produce civil wars. It is but ſeldom that our firſt thoughts are truly correct, and that is the caſe here; for there are ten times more to dread from a patched up connexion, than from independance. I make the ſufferers caſe my own, and I proteſt, that were I driven from houſe and home, my property deſtroyed, and my circumſtances ruined, that as man, ſenſible of injuries, I could never reliſh the doctrine of reconciliation, or conſider myſelf bound thereby.

The colonies have manifeſted ſuch a ſpirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is ſufficient to make every reaſonable perſon eaſy and happy on that head. No man can aſſign the leaſt pretence for his fears, on any other grounds than ſuch as are truly childiſh and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be ſtriving for ſuperiority over another.

Where there are no diſtinctions, there can be no ſuperiority, perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may ſay always) in peace. Holland and Swiſſerland are without wars, foreign or domeſtic: monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at reſt; the crown itſelf is a temptation to enterpriſing *ruffians* at *home*; and that degree of pride and inſolence ever attendant on regal authority, ſwells into a rupture with foreign powers, in inſtances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negociate the miſtake.

If

If there is any true cauſe of fear reſpecting independance, it is becauſe no plan is yet laid down. Men do not ſee their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that buſineſs, I offer the following hints; at the ſame time modeſtly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myſelf, than that they may be the means of giving riſe to ſomething better.---Could the ſtraggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wiſe and able men to improve into uſeful matter.

LET the aſſemblies be annual, with a Preſident only.---The repreſentation more equal. Their buſineſs wholly domeſtic, and ſubject to the authority of a Continental Congreſs.

Let each colony be divided into ſix, eight, or ten convenient diſtricts, each diſtrict to ſend a proper number of delegates to Congreſs, ſo that each colony ſend at leaſt thirty. The whole number in congreſs will be at leaſt 390. Each congreſs to ſit and to chooſe a preſident by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot, after which, let the whole Congeeſs chooſe (by ballot) a preſident from out of the delegates of *that* province. In the next congreſs, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the preſident was taken in the former congreſs, and ſo proceeding on 'till the whole thirteen ſhall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may paſs into a law but what is ſatisfactorily juſt, not leſs than three fifths of the congreſs to be called a majority.------He that will promote diſcord under a government ſo equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner this buſineſs muſt firſt ariſe, and as it feems moſt agreeable and conſiſtent, that it ſhould come from ſome intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congreſs and the people, let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpoſe:

A committee of twenty-ſix members of Congreſs, viz. two for each colony. Two Members from each Houſe of Aſſembly, or provincial Convention; and five repreſentatives of the people at large, to be choſen in the capital city or town of

of each province, for and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters as ſhall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpoſe; or, if more convenient the repreſentatives may be choſen in two or three of the moſt populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus aſſembled, will be united, the two grand principles of buſineſs, *knowledge* and *power*. The members of Congreſs, Aſſemblies' or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and uſeful councellors, and the whole, being impowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their buſineſs be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies; (anſwering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of chooſing members of Congreſs, members of Aſſembly, with their date of ſitting, and drawing the line of buſineſs and juriſdiction between them: (Always remembering, that our ſtrength is continental, not provincial:) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exerciſe of religion, according to the dictates of conſcience: with ſuch other matter as is neceſſary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the ſaid Conference to diſſolve, and the bodies which ſhall be choſen conformable to the ſaid charter, to be the legiſlators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whoſe peace and happineſs may God preſerve. Amen.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or ſome ſimilar purpoſe, I offer them the following extracts from that wiſe obſerver on governments *Dragonetti*. "The ſci- "ence" ſays he" of the polititian conſiſts in fixing the true "point of happineſs and freedom. Thoſe men would deſerve "the gratitude of ages, who ſhould diſcover a mode of go- "vernment that contained the greateſt ſum of individual "happineſs, with the leaſt national expence.

Dragonetti on virtue and rewards."

But where, ſay ſome, is the King of America? I'll tell you, Friend, he reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be ſolemnly ſet apart for proclaiming the charter; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know that

that ſo far we approve of monarchy, that in America THE LAW IS KING. For as in abſolute governments the King is law, ſo in free countries the law *ought* to be King; and there ought to be no other. But leſt any ill uſe ſhould afterwards ariſe, let the crown, at the concluſion of the ceremony, be demoliſhed, and ſcattered among the people whoſe right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man ſeriouſly reflects on the precarioufneſs of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiſer and ſafer, to form a conſtitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to truſt ſuch an intereſting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, ſome * Maſſanello may hereafter ariſe, who laying hold of popular diſquietudes, may collect together the deſperate and the diſcontented, and by áſſuming to themſelves the powers of government, may ſweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering ſituation of things will be a temptation for ſome deſperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in ſuch a caſe; what relief can Britain give? Ere ſhe could hear the news, the fatal buſineſs might be done; and ourſelves ſuffering like the wretched Britons under the oppreſſion of the Conqueror. Ye that oppoſe independance now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny,

There are thouſands, and tens of thouſands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and helliſh power, which hath ſtirred up the Indians and Negroes to deſtroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherouſly by them.

To talk of friendſhip with thoſe in whom our reaſon forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thouſand pores, inſtruct us to deteſt, is madneſs and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them, and can there be any reaſon to hope, that as the

* *Thomas Anello otherwiſe Maſſanello, a fiſherman of Naples, who after ſpiriting up his countrymen in the public market-place, againſt the oppreſſion of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then ſubject, prompted them to revolt, and in the ſpace of a day became king.*

relationſhip

relationſhip expires, the affection will increaſe, or that we ſhall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye reſtore to us the time that is paſt? Can ye give to proſtitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The laſt cord now is broken, the people of England are preſenting addreſſes againſt us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive ſhe would ceaſe to be nature if ſhe did. As well can the lover forgive the raviſher of his miſtreſs, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath inplanted in us theſe unextinguiſhable feelings for good and wiſe purpoſes. They are the guardians of his image in our, hearts. They diſtinguiſh us from the herd of common animals. The ſocial compact would diſſolve, and juſtice be extirpated the earth, or have only a caſual exiſtence were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer, would often eſcape unpuniſhed, did not the injuries which our tempers ſuſtain, provoke us into juſtice.

O ye that love mankind; Ye that dare oppoſe, not only the tyranny, ſtand forth; Every ſpot of the old world is overrun with oppreſſion. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Aſia and Africa, have long expelled her---Europe regards her like a ſtranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an aſylum for mankind.

Of the preſent ABILITY of AMERICA, with ſome miſcellaneous REFLEXIONS,

I Have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confeſſed his opinion, that a ſeparation between the countries, would take place one time or other: And there is no inſtance, in which we have ſhewn leſs judgment, then in endeavouring to deſcribe, what we call the ripeneſs or fitneſs of the Continent for independance.

As all men allow the meaſure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove miſtakes, take a generl ſurvey of things, and endeavour, if poſſible, to find out the *very* time. But we need not go far, the inquiry ceaſes

ceaſes at once, for, the *time hath found us.* The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things prove the fact.

It is not in numbers, but in unity, that our great ſtrength, lies; yet our preſent numbers are ſufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath, at this time, the largeſt body of armed and diſciplined men of any power under Heaven; and is juſt arrived at that pitch of ſtrength, in which no ſingle colony is able to ſupport itſelf, and the whole, when united, can accompliſh the matter, and either more, or, leſs than this, might be fatal in its effects. Our land force is already ſufficient, and as to naval affairs, we cannot be inſenſible, that Britain would never ſuffer an American man of war to be built, while the continent remained in her hands. Wherefore, we ſhould be no forwarder an hundred years hence in that branch, than we are now; but the truth is, we ſhould be leſs ſo, becauſe the timber of the country is every day diminiſhing, and that, which will remain at laſt, will be far off and difficult to procure.

Were the Continent crowded with inhabitants, her ſufferings under the preſent circumſtances would be intolerable. The more ſeaport towns we had, the more ſhould we have both to defend and to loſe. Our preſent numbers are ſo happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army, and the neceſſities of an army create a new trade.

Debts we have none; and whatever we may contract on this account will ſerve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave poſterity with a ſettled form of government, an independant conſtitution of its own, the purchaſe at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the ſake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the preſent miniſtry only, is unworthy the charge, and is uſing poſterity with the utmoſt cruelty; becauſe it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs, from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honour, and is the true characteriſtic of a narrow heart and a pedling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deſerve our regard, if the work be but accompliſhed. No nation ought to be without

out debt. A national debt is a national bond; and when it bears no intereſt, is in no caſe a grievance. Britain is oppreſſed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and fifty millions ſterling for which ſhe pays upwards of four millions intereſt. As a compenſation for her debt, ſhe has a large navy; America is without a debt, and without a navy; yet for the twentieth part of the Engliſh national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth, at this time, more than three millons and an half ſterling.

The firſt and ſecond editions of this pamphlet were publiſhed without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above eſtimation of the navy is a juſt one. *See Entic's naval hiſtory, intro.* page 56.

The charge of building a ſhip of each rate, and furniſhing her with maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatſwain's and carpenter's ſea-ſtores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secratary to the navy.

	£.
For a ſhip of 100 guns	35,553
90	29,886
80	23,638
70	17,785
60	14,197
50	10,606
40	7,855
30	5,846
20	3,710

And from hence it is eaſy to ſum up the value, or coſt rather, of the whole Britiſh navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greateſt glory, conſiſted of the follow ſhips and guns:

Ships

Ships.		Guns.		Coſt of one.		Coſt of all.
6	—	100	—	35,553*l.*	———	213,318*l.*
12	—	90	—	29,886	———	358,632
12	—	80	—	23,638	———	283,656
43	—	70	—	17,785	———	764,755
35	—	60	—	14,197	———	496,895
40	—	50	—	10,606	———	424,240
45	—	40	—	7,558	———	340,110
58	—	20	—	3,710	———	251,180
85	Sloops, bombs, and fireſhips, one with another,			2,000		170,000
					Coſt	3,266,786
	Remains for guns,					233,214
						3,500,000

No country on the globe is ſo happily ſituated, or ſo internally capable of raiſing a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage, are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ſhips of war to the Spaniards and Portugueſe, are obliged to import moſt of their materials they uſe. We ought to view the building a fleet as an article of commerce, it being the natural manufactory of this country. It is the beſt money we can lay out. A navy when finiſhed is worth more than it coſt. And is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can ſell; and by that means replace our paper currency with ready gold and ſilver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not neceſſary that one fourth part ſhould be ſailors. The Terrible privateer, Captain Death, ſtood the hotteſt engagement of any ſhip laſt war, yet had not twenty ſailors on board, though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and ſocial ſailors will ſoon inſtruct a ſufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ſhip. Wherefore, we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now while our timber is ſtanding, our fiſheries blocked up, and our ſailors

and ſhipwrights out of employ. Men of war of ſeventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New-England, and why not the ſame now? Ship-building is America's greateſt pride, and in which ſhe will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the eaſt are moſtly inland, and conſequently excluded from the poſſibility of rivelling her. Africa is in a ſtate of barbariſm; and no power in Europe hath either ſuch an extent of coaſt, or ſuch an internal ſupply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, ſhe has withheld the other; to America only hath ſhe been liberal to both. The vaſt empire of Ruſſia is almoſt ſhut out from the ſea: Wherefore, her boundleſs foreſts, her tar, iron, and cordage, are only articles of commerce.

In point of ſafety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were ſixty years ago; at that time we might have truſted our property in the ſtreets, or fields rather; and ſlept ſecurely without locks or bolts to our doors or windows. The caſe now is altered, and our methods of defence ought to improve with our increaſe of property. A common pirate, twelve months ago, might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under inſtant contribution, for what ſum he pleaſed; and the ſame might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow, in a brig of fourteen or ſixteen guns, might have robbed the whole continent, and carried off half a million of money. Theſe are circumſtances which demand our attention, and point out the neceſſity of naval protection.

Some, perhaps, will ſay, that after we have made it up with Britain, ſhe will protect us. Can we be ſo unwiſe as to mean that ſhe ſhall keep a navy in our harbours for that purpoſe? Common ſenſe will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to ſubdue us, is of all others the moſt improper to defend us. Conqueſt may be effected under the pretence of friendſhip; and ourſelves, after a long and brave reſiſtance, be at laſt cheated into ſlavery. And if her ſhips are not to be admitted into our harbours, I would aſk, how is ſhe to protect us? A navy three or four thouſand miles off can be of little uſe, and on ſudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore, if we muſt hereafter protect

tect ourſelves, why not do it for ourſelves? Why do it for another?

The Engliſh liſt of ſhips of war, is long and formidable, but not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for ſervice, numbers of them not in being; yet their names are prompouſly continued in the liſt, if only a plank be left of the ſhip: And not a fifth part of ſuch as are fit for ſervice, can be ſpared on any one ſtation at one time. The Eaſt and Weſt Indies, Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a falſe notion reſpecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we ſhould have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reaſon, ſuppoſed, that we muſt have one as large; which not being inſtantly practicable, have been made uſe of by a ſet of diſguiſed Tories to diſcourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this; for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, ſhe would be by far an overmatch for her; becauſe, as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force will be employed on our own coaſt, where we ſhould, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of thoſe who had three or four thouſand miles to ſail over, before they could attack us, and the ſame diſtance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain, by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the Weſt Indies, which, by laying in the neighbourhood of the continent, is entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we ſhould not judge it neceſſary to ſupport a conſtant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants, to build and employ in their ſervice, ſhips mounted with twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty guns (the premiums to be in proportion to the loſs of bulk to the merchants) fifty or ſixty of thoſe ſhips, with a few guardſhips on conſtant duty, would keep up a ſufficient navy, and that without burdening ourſelves with the evil ſo loudly complained of in England, of ſuffering their fleet, in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the ſinews of commerce and defence is ſound policy; for when our ſtrength and our

riches

riches play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

In almoſt every article of defence we abound. Hemp flouriſhes even to rankneſs, ſo that we need not want cordage. Our iron is ſuperior to that of other countries. Our ſmall arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can caſt at pleaſure. Saltpetre and gunpowder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Reſolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forſaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? Why is it that we heſitate? From Britain we expect nothing but ruin. If ſhe is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealouſies will be always ariſing; inſurrections will be conſtantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? The difference between Pennſylvania and Connecticut, reſpecting ſome unlocated lands, ſhews the inſignificance of a Britiſh government, and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reaſon why the preſent time is preferable to all others, is, that the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which inſtead of being laviſhed by the king on his worthleſs dependants, may be hereafter applied, not only to the diſcharge of the preſent debt, but to the conſtant ſupport of government. No nation under heaven hath ſuch an advantage as this.

The infant ſtate of the Colonies, as it is called, ſo far from being againſt, is an argument in favour of independance. We are ſufficiently numerous, and were we more ſo, we might be leſs united. It is a matter worthy of obſervation, that the more a country is peopled, the ſmaller their armies are. In military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the moderns; and the reaſon is evident, for trade being the conſequence of population, men become too much abſorbed thereby to attend to any thing elſe. Commerce diminiſhes the ſpirit both of patriotiſm and military defence. And hiſtory ſufficiently informs us, that the braveſt atchievements were always accompliſhed in the non-age of a nation. With the increaſe of commerce, England hath loſt its ſpirit. The city of London, notwithſtanding its numbers, ſubmits

to

to continued inſults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to loſe, the leſs willing are they to venture. The rich are in general ſlaves to fear, and ſubmit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a ſpaniel.

Youth is the ſeed time of good habits, as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impoſſible, to form the continent into one government half a century hence. The vaſt variety of intereſts, occaſioned by an increaſe of trade and population, would create confuſion. Colony would be againſt colony. Each being able might ſcorn each other's aſſiſtance: and while the proud and fooliſh gloried in their little diſtinctions, the wiſe would lament, that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the *preſent time* is the *true time* for eſtabliſhing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendſhip which is formed in misfortune, are of all others the moſt laſting and unalterable. Our preſent union is marked with both theſe characters: we are young, and we have been diſtreſſed; but our concord hath withſtood our troubles, and fixes a memorable æra for poſterity to glory in.

The preſent time likewiſe is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itſelf into a government. Moſt nations have let ſlip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, inſtead of making laws for themſelves. Firſt, they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas, the articles or charter of government, ſhould be formed firſt, and men delegated to exeucute them afterwards: but from the errors of other nations, let us learn wiſdom, and lay hold of the preſent opportunity----*To begin government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror ſubdued England, he gave them law at the point of the ſword; and until we conſent, that the ſeat of government, in America, be legally and authoritatively occupied, we ſhall be in danger of having it filled by ſome fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the ſame manner, and then, where will be our freedom? where our property?

As to religion, I hold it to be the indiſpenſible duty of all government, to protect all conſcientious profeſſors thereof, and I know of no other buſineſs which government hath to do

do therewith. Let a man throw aſide that narrowneſs of ſoul, that ſelfiſhneſs of principle, which the niggards of all profeſſions are ſo unwilling to part with, and he will be at ouce delivered of his fears on that head. Suſpicion is the companion of mean ſouls, and the bane of all good ſociety. For myſelf, I fully and conſcientiouſly believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there ſhould be a diverſity of religious opinions among us: it affords a larger field for our Chriſtian kindneſs. Were we all of one way of thinking, our religious diſpoſitions would want matter for probation; and on this liberal principle, I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the ſame family, differing only, in what is called, their Chriſtian names.

In page twenty-five, I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a Continental Charter, (for I only preſume to offer hints, not plans) and in this place, I take the liberty of re-mentioning the ſubject, by obſerving, that a charter is to be undrſtood as a bond of ſolemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to ſupport the right of every ſeparate part, whether of religion, perſonal freedom, or property. A firm bargain and a right reckoning make long friends.

In a former page I likewiſe mentioned the neceſſity of a large and equal repreſentation; and there is no political matter which more deſerves our attention. A ſmall number of electors, or a ſmall number of repreſentatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the repreſentatives be not only ſmall, but unequal, the danger is increaſed. As an inſtance of this, I mention the following; when the Aſſociators petition was before the Houſe of Aſſembly of Pennſylvania; twenty-eight members only were preſent, all the Bucks county members, being eight, voted againſt it and had ſeven of the Cheſter members done the ſame, this whole province had been governed by two countries only, and this danger it is always expoſed to The unwarrantable ſtretch likewiſe, which that houſe made in their laſt ſitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they truſt power out of their own hands. A ſet of inſtructions for the delegates were put together, which in point of ſenſe and buſineſs would have diſhonoured a ſchool-boy, and after being approved by a *few*, a *very few* without doors, were carried into

into the Houſe, and there paſſed *in behalf of the whole colony*; whereas, did the whole colony know, with what ill will that Houſe hath entered on ſome neceſſary public meaſures, they would not heſitate a moment to think them unworty of ſuch a truſt.

Immediate neceſſity makes many things convenient, which if continued, would grow into oppreſſions. Expedience and right are different things. When the calamities of America required a conſultation, there was no method ſo ready, or at that time ſo proper, as to appoint perſons from the ſeveral Houſes of Aſſembly for that purpoſe; and the wiſdom with which they have proceeded hath preſerved this continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we ſhall never be without a CONGRESS, every well wiſher to good order, muſt own, that the mode for chooſing members of that body, deſerves conſideration. And I put it as a queſtion to thoſe who make a ſtudy of mankind, whether *repreſentation and election* is not too great a power for one and the ſame body of men to poſſeſs? When we are planning for poſterity, we ought to remember, that virtue is not hereditary.

It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims, and are frequently ſurpriſed into reaſon by their miſtakes. Mr. Cornwall (one of the Lords of the Treaſury) treated the petition of the New-York Aſſembly with contempt, becauſe *that* Houſe, he ſaid, conſiſted but of twenty-ſix members, which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honeſty.*

To CONCLUDE, however ſtrange it may appear to ſome, or however unwilling they may be to think ſo, matters not, but many ſtrong and ſtriking reaſons may be given, to ſhew, that nothing can ſettle our affairs ſo expeditiouſly as an open and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

Firſt. It is the cuſtom of nations, when any two are at war, for ſome other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to ſtep in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a

* *Thoſe who would fully underſtand of what great conſequence a large and equal repreſentation is to a ſtate, ſhould read Burgh's political Diſquiſitions.*

peace;

peace: but while America calls herſelf the ſubject of Great-Britain, no power, however well diſpoſed ſhe may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our preſent ſtate we may quarrel on for ever.

Secondly. It is unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that France or Spain will give us any kind of aſſiſtance, if we mean only to make uſe of that aſſiſtance for the purpoſe of repairing the breach, and ſtrengthening the connection between Britain and America; becauſe, thoſe powers would be ſufferers by the conſequences.

Thirdly. While we profeſs ourſelves the ſubjects of Britain, we muſt, in the eye of foreign nations, be conſidered as rebels. The precedent is ſomewhat dangerous to *their peace*, for men to be in arms under the name of ſubjects; we, on the ſpot, can ſolve the paradox: but to unite reſiſtance and ſubjection, requires an idea much too refined for common underſtanding.

Fourthly. Were a manifeſto to be publiſhed, and diſpatched to foreign courts, ſetting forth the miſeries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually uſed for redreſs; declaring at the ſame time, that not being able, any longer, to live happily or ſafely under the cruel diſpoſition of the Britiſh court, we had been driven to the neceſſity of breaking off all connection with her; at the ſame time, aſſuring all ſuch courts of our peaceable diſpoſition towards them, and of our deſire of entering into trade with them: ſuch a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ſhip were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our preſent denomination of Britiſh ſubjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: The cuſtom of all courts is againſt us, and will be ſo, until, by an independance, we take rank with other nations.

Theſe proceedings may at firſt appear ſtrange and difficult; but, like all other ſteps which we have already paſſed over, will in a little time become familiar and agreeable; and, until an independance is declared, the Continent will feel itſelf like a man who continues putting off ſome unpleaſant buſineſs from day to day, yet knows it muſt be done, hates to ſet about it, wiſhes it over, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its neceſſity.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

SINCE the publication of the firſt edition of this pamphlet, or rather, on the ſame day on which it came out, made its appearance in this city. Had the ſpirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth at a more ſeaſonable juncture, or a more neceſſary time. The bloody-mindedneſs of the one, ſhew the neceſſity of purſuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And , inſtead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independance.

Ceremony, and even, ſilence, from whatever motive they may ariſe, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the leaſt degree of countenance to baſe and wicked performances; wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows,

deſerved, and ſtill deſerves, a general execration both by the Congreſs and the people. Yet, as the domeſtic tranquillity of a nation, depends greatly, on the *chaſtity* of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better, to paſs ſome things over in ſilent diſdain, than to make uſe of ſuch new methods of diſlike, as might introduce the leaſt innovation, on that guardian of our peace and ſafety. And, perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that hath not, before now, ſuffered a public execution. The , if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel againſt the truth, the common good, and the exiſtence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human ſacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general maſſacre of mankind, is one of the privileges, and the certain conſequence of ; for as nature knows them *not* they know *not her*, and although they are beings of our *own* creating, they know not *us* and are become the gods of their creators. The hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loſs; and every line convinces, even in the moment of

reading, that He, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is leſs a Savage than

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jeſuitical piece, fallaciouſly called. "*The Addreſs of the people of* ENGLAND *to the inhabitants of* AMERICA," hath, perhaps, from a vain ſuppoſition, that the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and deſcription of a king, given, (though very unwiſely on his part) the real character of the preſent one: "But," ſays this writer," if you are inclined to pay compliments to an adminiſtration, which we do not complain of," (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp Act) "it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince, *by whoſe* NOD ALONE *they were permitted to do any thing*." This is toryiſm with a witneſs! Here is idolatry even without a maſk: And he who can calmly hear, and digeſt ſuch doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality---an apoſtate from the order of manhood; and ought to be conſidered---as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but ſunk himſelf beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawl through the world like a worm.

It is *now* the intereſt of America to provide for herſelf. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to ſupport a power who is become a reproach to the names of men and chriſtians—YE, whoſe office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatſoever ſect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who, are more immediately the guardians of the publc liberty, if ye wiſh to preſerve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye muſt in ſecret wiſh a ſeparation—But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I ſhall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads.

Firſt. That it is the intereſt of America to be ſeparated from Britain.

Secondly

Secondly. Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, RECONCILIATION or INDEPENDANCE; with ſome occaſional remarks.

In ſupport of the firſt, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinion of ſome of the ableſt and moſt experienced men on this Continent; and whoſe ſentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known, It is in reality a ſelf-evident poſition: For no nation in a ſtate of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped and fettered in its legiſlative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progreſs which ſhe hath made ſtands unparalleled in the hiſtory of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what ſhe would be capable of arriving at, had ſhe, as ſhe ought to have, the legiſlative powers in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were ſhe to accompliſh it; and the Continent heſitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce and not the conqueſt of America, by which England is to be benefited, and that would in a great meaſure continue, were the countries as independant of each other as France and Spain; becauſe in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independance of this country on Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention, and which, like all other truths diſcovered by neceſſity, will appear clearer and ſtronger every day.

Firſt. Becauſe it will come to that one time or other.

Secondly. Becauſe, the longer it is delayed the harder it will be to accompliſh.

I have frequently amuſed myſelf both in public and private companies, with ſilently remarking, the ſpecious errors of thoſe who ſpeak without reflecting, And among the many which I have heard, the following ſeems the moſt general, viz. that had this rupture happened forty or fifty years hence, inſtead of *now* the Continent would have been more able to have ſhaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability, *at this time*, ariſes from the experience gained in the laſt war, and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent, would not,

not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or thoſe who may ſucceed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this ſingle poſition, cloſely attended to, will unanſwerably prove, that the preſent time is preferable to all others. The argument turns thus—at the concluſion of the laſt war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we ſhould have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time, muſt be ſome particular point between the two extremes, in which a ſufficiency of the former remains, and a proper increaſe of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the preſent time.

The reader will pardon this digreſſion, as it does not properly come under the head I firſt ſet out with, and to which I ſhall again return by the following poſition, viz.

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and ſhe to remain the governing and ſovereign power of America, (which, as matters are now circumſtanced, is giving up the point entirely) we ſhall deprive ourſelves of the very means of ſinking the debt we have or may contract. The value of the back lands, which ſome of the provinces are clandeſtinely deprived of, by the unjuſt extenſion of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds ſterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions, Penſilvania currency;---and the quit-rents at one penny ſterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the ſale of thoſe lands that the debt may be ſunk, without burthen to any, and the quit-rent reſerved thereon, will always leſſen, and in time will wholly ſupport the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, ſo that the lands when ſold be applied to the diſcharge of it, and for the execution of which, the Congreſs for the time being will be the continental truſtees.

I proceed now to the ſecond head, viz. Which is the eaſieſt and moſt practicable plan, RECONCILIATION or INDEPENDANCE; with ſome occaſional remarks.

He who takes nature for his guide is not eaſily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I anſwer *generally*---*that* INDEPENDANCE *being a* SINGLE SIMPLE LINE

LINE, *contained within ourſelves; and Reconciliation, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which a treacherous capricious court is to interfere, gives the anſwer without a doubt.*

The preſent ſtate of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by courteſy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of ſentiment, which is nevertheleſs ſubject to change, and which every ſecret enemy is endeavouring to diſſolve. Our preſent condition is, Legiſlation without law; wiſdom without a plan; a conſtitution without a name; and, what is ſtrangely aſtoniſhing, perfect Independance contending for dependance. The inſtance is without a precedent; the caſe never exiſted before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is ſecure in the preſent unbraced ſyſtem of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random, and ſeeing no fixed object before them, they purſue ſuch as fancy or opinion ſtarts. Nothing is criminal; there is no ſuch thing as treaſon; wherefore, every one thinks himſelf at liberty to act as he pleaſes. The tories dared not to have aſſembled offenſively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the ſtate. A line of diſtinction ſhould be drawn between Engliſh ſoldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The firſt are priſoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

Notwithſtanding our wiſdom, there is a viſible feebleneſs in ſome of our proceedings which gives encouragement to diſſentions. The Continental Belt is too looſely buckled. And if ſomething is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we ſhall fall into a ſtate, in which neither *Reconciliation* nor *Independance* will be practicable. The and his worthleſs adherents are got at their old game of dividing the Continent, and there are not wanting among us Printers, who will be buſy in ſpreading ſpecious falſhoods. The artful and hypocrital letter which appeared a few months ago in two of the New-York papers, and likewiſe in two others, is an evidence that there are men who want either judgement or honeſty.

It is eaſy getting into holes and corners, and talking of reconciliation: But do ſuch men ſeriouſly conſider, how difficult the taſk is, and how dangerous it may prove, ſhould the Continent divide thereon. Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men, whoſe ſituation and circumſtances, as well as their own, are to be conſidered therein. Do they put themſelves in the place of the ſufferer whoſe *all* is *already* gone, and of the ſoldier who hath quitted *all* for the defence of his country. If their ill-judged moderation be ſuited to their own private ſituations only, regardleſs of others, the event will convince them, "that they are reckoning without their hoſt."

Put us, ſays ſome, on the footing we were on in ſixty-three: To which I anſwer, the requeſt is not *now* in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will ſhe propoſe it; but if it were, and even ſhould be granted, I aſk, as a reaſonable queſtion, By what means is ſuch a corrupt and faithleſs court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the preſent, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwiſely granted; and in that caſe, Where is our redreſs? No going to law with nations: cannon are the barriſters of crowns; and the ſword, not of juſtice, but of war, decides the ſuit. To be on the footing of ſixty-three, it is not ſufficient, that the laws only be put on the ſame ſtate, but, that our circumſtances, likewiſe, be put on the ſame ſtate; our burnt and deſtroyed towns repaired or built up, our private loſſes made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) diſcharged; otherwiſe we ſhall be millions worſe than we were at that enviable period. Such a requeſt, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and ſoul of the Continent—but it is now too late, "The Rubicon is paſſed."

Beſides, the taking up arms merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, ſeems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce obedience thereto. The object on either ſide, doth not juſtify the means; for the lives of men are too valuable to be caſt away on ſuch trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our perſons; the deſtructions of our property by an armed force; the invaſion of our country by fire and ſword, which conſcientiouſly qualifies the uſe of arms:

And

And the inſtant, in which ſuch a mode of defence became neceſſary, all ſubjection to Britain ought to have ceaſed; and the independancy of America, ſhould have been conſidered, as dating its æra from and publiſhed by, *the firſt muſket that was fired againſt her*. This line is a line of conſiſtency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I ſhall conclude theſe remarks, with the followng timely and well intended hints, We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways, by which an independancy can hereafter be effected; and that *one* of thoſe *three*, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congreſs; by a military power; or by a mob: It may not always happen that our ſoldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reaſonable men; virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independancy be brought about by the firſt of thoſe means, we have every opportunity and every encouragement before us, to form the nobleſt pureſt conſtitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A ſituation, ſimilar to the preſent, hath not happened ſiuce the days of Noah till now. The birthday of a new world is at hand, and a race of men pehaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The reflexion is awful—and in this point of view, how triffling, how ridiculous, do the little, paltry cavellings, of a few weak or intereſted men appear, when weighed againſt the buſineſs of a world.

Should we neglect the preſent favourable and inviting period, and an independance be hereafter effected by any other means, we muſt charge the conſequence to ourſelves, or to thoſe rather, whoſe narrow and prejudiced ſouls, are habitually oppoſing the meaſure, without either inquiring or reflecting. There are reaſons to be given in ſupport of Independance, which men ſhould rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we ſhall be independant or not, but, anxious to accompliſh it on a firm, ſecure, and honourable baſis, and uneaſy rather that it is not yet began upon. Every day convinces us of its neceſſity. Even the Tories (if ſuch beings yet remain

remain among us) ſhould, of all men, be the moſt ſolicitous to promote it; for, as the appointment of committees at firſt, protected them from popular rage, ſo, a wiſe and well eſtabliſhed form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing it ſecurely to them. *Wherefore*, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wiſh for independance.

In ſhort, independance is the only BOND that can tye and keep us together. We ſhall then ſee our object, and our ears will be legally ſhut againſt the ſchemes of an intriguing, as well, as a cruel enemy. We ſhall then too, be on a proper footing, to treat with Britain; for there is reaſon to conclude, that the pride of that court, will be leſs hurt by treating with the American ſtates for terms of peace, than with thoſe, whom ſhe denominates, "rebellious ſubjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conqueſt, and our backwardneſs tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redreſs of our grievances, let us *now* try the alternative, by *independantly* redreſſing them ourſelves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reaſonable part in England, will be ſtill with us; becauſe, peace *with* trade, is preferable to war *without* it. And if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On theſe grounds I reſt the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be oppoſed. WHEREFORE, inſtead of gazing at each other with ſuſpicious or doubtful curioſity, let each of us, hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendſhip, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion ſhall bury in forgetfulneſs every former diſſention. Let the names of Whig and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, than thoſe of *a good citizen, an open and reſolute friend, and a virtuous ſupporter of the* RIGHTS *of* MANKIND *and of the* FREE AND INDEPENDANT STATES OF AMERICA.

To the Repreſentatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to ſo many of them as were concerned in publiſhing a late piece, entitled "The ANCIENT TESTIMONY and "PRINCIPLES of the People called QUA-"KERS renewed, with Reſpect to the KING "and GOVERNMENT, and touching the "COMMOTIONS now prevailing in theſe "and other parts of AMERICA addreſſed to "the PEOPLE IN GENERAL."

THE Writer of this, is one of thoſe few, who never diſhonours religion either by ridiculing, or cavelling at any denomination whatſoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the ſcore of religion. Wherefore, this epiſtle is not ſo properly addreſſed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the profeſſed Quietude of your Principles inſtruct you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for ſo doing, put yourſelves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, ſo, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourſelves, is under the neceſſity, of putting himſelf in the place of all thoſe, who, approve the very writings and principles, againſt which, your teſtimony is directed: And he hath choſen this ſingular ſituation, in order, that you might diſcover in him that preſumption of character which you cannot ſee in yourſelves. For neither he nor you can have any claim or title to *Political Repreſentation.*

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they ſtumble and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your teſtimony, that politics (as a religious body of men) is not your proper walk; however well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheleſs, a jumble of good and bad put unwiſely together, and the concluſion drawn therefrom, both unnatural and unjuſt.

The two firſt pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the ſame civility from you, becauſe the love and deſire of peace is not confined to Quakeriſm, it is the *natural*, as well the religious wiſh of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men laboring to eſtabliſh an Independant Conſtitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. *Our plan is peace for ever.* We are tired of contention with Britain, and can ſee no real end to it but in a final ſeparation. We act conſiſtantly, becauſe for the ſake of introducing an endleſs and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the preſent day. We are endeavoring, and will ſteadily continue to endeavour, to ſeparate and diſſolve a connexion which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cauſe of future miſchiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge nor conqueſt; neither from pride nor paſſion; we are not inſulting the world with our fleets and armies, nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the ſhade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houſes, and in our own land, is the violence committed againſt us. We view our enemies in the character of highwaymen and houſebreakers, and having no defence for ourſelves in the civil law, are obliged to puniſh them by the military one, and apply the ſword, in the very caſe, where you have before now, applied the halter———Perhaps we feel for the ruined and inſulted ſufferers in all and every part of the continent, with a degree of tenderneſs which hath not yet made its way into ſome of your boſoms. But be ye ſure that ye miſtake not the cauſe and ground of your Teſtimony. Call not coldneſs of ſoul, religion; nor put the *Bigot* in the place of the *Chriſtian.*

O ye partial miniſters of your own acknowledged principles. If the bearing arms be ſinful, the firſt going to war muſt be more ſo, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conſcience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horſe of your religion, convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, *for they likewiſe bear* ARMS. Give us proof of your ſincerity by publiſhing it at St. James's, to the commanders in chief at Boſton, to the admirals

mirals and captains who are piratically ravaging our coaſts, and to all the murdering miſcreants who are acting in authority under whom ye profeſs to ſerve. Had ye the honeſt ſoul of * *Barclay* ye would preach repentance to *your* king; Ye would tell the his ſins, and warn him of eternal ruin. Ye would not ſpend your partial invectives againſt the injured and the inſulted only, but, like faithful miniſters, would cry aloud and *ſpare none*. Say not that ye are perſecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach, which, ye are bringing upon yourſelves; for we teſtify unto all men, that we do not complain againſt you becauſe ye are *Quakers*, but becauſe ye pretend to *be* and are NOT Quakers.

Alas! it ſeems by the particular tendency of ſome part of your teſtimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if, all ſin was reduced to, and comprehended in, *the act of bearing arms*, and that by the *people only*. Ye appear to us, to have miſtaken party for conſcience; becauſe, the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity: And it is exceedingly difficult to us to give credit to many of your pretended ſcruples; becauſe, we ſee them made by the ſame men, who, in the very inſtant that they are exclaiming againſt the mammon of this world, are nevertheleſs, hunting after it with a ſtep as ſteady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your teſtimony, that, "when a man's ways

* "*Thou haſt taſted of proſperity and adverſity; thou knoweſt* "*what it is to be baniſhed thy native country, to be over-ruled as* "*well as to rule, and ſet upon the throne; and being* oppreſſed *thou* "*haſt reaſon to know how* hateful *the* oppreſſor *is both to God and* "*man: If after all theſe warnings and adverti ſements, thou doſt not* "*turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remem-* "*bered thee in thy diſtreſs, and give up thyſelf to follow luſt and* "*vanity, ſurely great will be thy condemnation.—Againſt which* "*ſnare, as well as the temptation of thoſe who may or do feed thee,* "*and prompt thee to evil, the moſt excellent and prevalent remedy* "*will be to apply thyſelf to that light of Chriſt which ſhineth in thy* "*conſcience, and which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor ſuffer* "*thee to be at eaſe in thy ſins.*"

Barclay's Addreſs to Charles II.

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pleaſe the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him"; is very unwiſely choſen on your part; becauſe, it amounts to a proof, that the (whom ye are ſo deſirous of ſupporting) do *not* pleaſe the Lord, otherwiſe, his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your teſtimony, and that, for which all the foregoing ſeems only an introduction, viz.

" It hath ever been our judgment and principle, ſince we " were called to profeſs the light of Chriſt Jeſus, manifeſted " in our conſciences unto this day, that the ſitting up and " putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar " prerogative; for cauſes beſt known to himſelf: And that " it is not our buſineſs to have any hand or contrivance " therein; nor to be buſy bodies above our ſtation, much " leſs to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn of any of " them, but to pray for the king, and ſafety of our nation, " and good of all men: That we may live a peaceable and " quiet life, in all godlineſs and honeſty; *under the govern-* " *ment which God is pleaſed to ſet over us.*"—If theſe are *really* your principles why do ye not abide by them? Why do ye not leave that, which ye call God's Work, to be managed by himſelf? Theſe very principles inſtruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public meaſures and to receive *that event* as the divine will towards you. *Wherefore*, what occaſion is there for your *political teſtimony* if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publiſhing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profeſs, or have not virtue enough to practiſe what ye believe.

The principles of Quakeriſm have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet and inoffenſive ſubject of any, and every government *which is ſet over him.* And if the ſetting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he moſt certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore, the principle itſelf leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings as being his work. OLIVER CROMWELL thanks you. CHARLES, then, died not by the hands of men; and ſhould the preſent Proud Imitator of him, come to the ſame untimely end, the writers and publiſhers of the Teſtimony, are bound

bound, by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than ſuch as are common and human; and ſuch as we are now uſing. Even the diſperſion of the Jews, though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuſe to be the means on one ſide, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other; but to wait the iſſue in ſilence; and unleſs ye can produce divine authority, to prove that the Almighty who hath created and placed this *new* world, at the greateſt diſtance it could poſſibly ſtand, eaſt and weſt, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheleſs, diſapprove of its being independant of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain, unleſs I ſay, ye can ſhew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles, juſtify the exciting and ſtirring up the people "firmly to unite "in the *abhorrence* of all ſuch *writings*, and *meaſures*, as evi- "dence a deſire and deſign to break off the *happy* connexion "we have hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great-Bri- "tain, and our juſt and neceſſary ſubordination to the king, "and thoſe who are lawfully placed in authority under him." What a ſlap of the face is here! the men, who in the very paragraph before, have quietly and paſſively reſigned up the ordering, altering, and diſpoſal of kings and governments, into the hands of God, are now, recalling their principles, and putting in for a ſhare of the buſineſs. Is it poſſible, that the concluſion, which is here juſtly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconſiſtency is too glaring not to be ſeen; the abſurdity too great not to be laughed at; and ſuch as could only have been made by thoſe, whoſe underſtandings were darkened by the narrow and crabby ſpirit of a deſpairing political party; for ye are not to be conſidered as the whole body of the Quakers but only as a factional and fractional part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your teſtimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I ſubjoin the following remark; "That the ſetting up and putting down of kings," moſt certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not ſo, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the preſent caſe? We neither mean to *ſet up* nor to *put down*, neither to *make* nor to *unmake*, but

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to have nothing to *do* with them. Wherefore, your teſtimony in whatever light it is viewed ſerves only to diſhonor your judgment, and for many other reaſons had better have been let alone than publiſhed.

Firſt, Becauſe it tends to the decreaſe and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmoſt danger to ſociety, to make it a party in political diſputes.

Secondly, Becauſe it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom diſavow the publiſhing political teſtimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly, Becauſe is hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony and friendſhip which yourſelves by your late liberal and charitable donations hath lent a hand to eſtabliſh; and the preſervation of which, is of the utmoſt conſequence to us all.

And here without anger or reſentment I bid you farewel. Sincerely wiſhing, that as men and chriſtians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be in your turn, the means of ſecuring it to others; but that the example which ye have unwiſely ſet, of mingling religion with politics, *may be diſavowed and reprobated by every inhabitant of* AMERICA.

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